

THE
 TRUE and IMPARTIAL
 RELATION
 OF THE
 PERSECUTED PRESBYTERIANS
 IN
 SCOTLAND,

Their rising in Arms, and defeat at *Bothwell-
 Bridge*, in the Year 1679.

Wherein the Reader, for his Satisfaction hath the true
 Account,

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. Of the Cause and Occasion of
that Army's rising in Arms. | and of the Council of War
from the Rencontre at |
| II. Of their publishing of their
Testimony at <i>Rutherglen</i> . | <i>Drumlogg</i> , till their defeat
at <i>Bothwell Bridge</i> . |
| III. Of the Rencontre at
<i>Drumlogg</i> . | V. Of the Causes of the
Lord Argyll's gainst that Ar-
my, that made them fall and
flee before their Enemies. |
| IV. Of the most material things
that happened in that Army; | |

Faithfully collected from *twelve* several Accounts of the same,
 written by Persons of great Integrity, who were Officers in
 the Army, and Members of the Council of War: Such as,
*Mr. Robert Hamilton, Mr. David Mackillop of Rathkellie, Mr.
 Walter Smith, and several others.*

By WILLIAM WILSON Schoolmaster in *Broomer-
 side*, in the Parish of *Douglas, Clydsdale*.

*Jer. VII. 11, 12. If ye have sinned, and they have also trans-
 gressed my Covenant, which I commanded them, for they have
 very taken of the altar of thing — And have put it even amongst
 their own stuff. Therefore the Children of Israel shall not stand
 before their Enemies, but turned their Backs before their Enemies.*

G L A S G O W:

Printed by JOHN McCALLUM, for William Wilson, School-
 master in the Parish of *Douglas, Clydsdale*, and sold by
 ROBERT SMITH Bookseller, at the Sign of the gilt Bible,
Salt-mercat. 1751.

• Amy. Wright
on Her Book

The true and impartial RELATION of the persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland, their appearance in Arms, and defeat at Bothwell Bridge, June 22d, 1679.

THE appearance of the Lord's people in arms, and their defeat at *Bothwell Bridge*, June 22d, 1679. is a thing so well known; and that which hath been so much spoken off, these seventy two years by gone, that it were altogether unnecessary for me, to write any thing concerning the same; (at such a distance of time) if it were not, that no true relation thereof, hath ever been published to the world, (so far as I know.) And therefore very few, to this day, are truly informed, concerning the true matters of fact; which fell out in that army, and proved their overthrow in the end. I shall therefore, in this relation, give such a true representation of the truth, as will, in a great measure, remove the reproach, from such, as hitherto have born the blame of that army's fall and ruin: and will make it evident to all such, as are not filled with prejudice at the truth it self, who were the chief instruments of that army's fall and ruin. The method that I propose in doing of this, is to give a true Account,

1. Of the cause and occasion of that army's rising in arms. 2. Of their publishing of their testimony at *Rutherglen*. 3. Of the rencounter at *Drumclog*. 4. Of the most material things,

that happned in that army, and their counsel of war, from the rencounter at *Drumclog*, to their defeat at *Bothwell Bridge*. 5. Of the chief causes of the Lord's anger against that army, which provoked him to give them over to the fierce rage of their enemies, to fall and flee before them.

I. The only cause and occasion of that army's rising was, the unparalleled severeties of the enemies, in adding to their former cruelties, the raising of new troops of horse, and companies of foot, placing of garrisons of soldiers at *Lanark*, *Air*, *Dumfries*, *Kircubright*, and *Glasgow*; and giving these wicked soldiers severe orders and commissions, to search the country for field-meetings, for preaching of the gospel, and to assault and pursue these meetings with the sword, and to kill all that offered to resist. In prosecuting of these orders, a party of soldiers did assault a field-meeting, and fired their carabines among the People, while they were at the divine worship of God, whereby they killed and wounded some of them. This put the people to consider what to do under such severities: so, after prayer and consultation, they resolved to continue in their duty, and to defend themselves and the gospel, (which was their greatest privilege) upon all hazards. And in order thereto, the meetings which lay betwixt *Lanark* and *Air*, contracted themselves into one meeting, that thereby they might be in better capacity, to assist and encourage one another, in keeping up a testimony for the truth and cause of God, against all defections: which resolution

solution was followed, and kept up, some time at one place, and some time at another. And several times when the wicked soldiers attempted to approach to their meeting, to prosecute their hellish orders, when they perceived that the people were ready to defend themselves, they did withdraw, without giving any further disturbance. And sometimes, when they ventured to fire their carabines among the people, they were repelled, and some of them taken and disarmed, and detained till sermon was over, and then let go. And notwithstanding of the frequent assaults, that they met with from the enemy, this contracted meeting increased, and was duly kept up, for the space of twenty sabbaths together. In which time they perceived, by the cruelties of their enemies, that no less than their destruction, and the utter ruin of the work of God was designed: for the preventing of which, they judged it their duty, in this their present circumstance, both to set certain time apart for fasting, prayer, and consultation; and also to take arms to their meetings, for defence of themselves and the gospel; in all which, they were much countenanced of the Lord, and encouraged not to desert his cause. but continue at their duty. As to their testimony at *Rutherglen*, the account of it is this,

II. Upon the 25th of *May*, being the sabbath, Mr. *Thomas Douglas* preached upon a moor in *Evandale*. To this meeting from *Fife* came the famous and valiant champion *David Hackston*

Hackston, of *Rathillet*; *John Balfour*, of *Kinloch*; *William Dingwall*, and some other valiant men. Several who were at the preaching quartered near that place all night. Next day, *May 26th*, *Mr. Robert Hamilton*, (afterwards *Sir Robert Hamilton*, of *Preston*) *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*, and *John Balfour*, of *Kinloch*, went to *Mr. Donald Cargill*, to consult and advise with him concerning the publishing of a testimony against the most principal defections of the time. In this they soon agreed; and considering that ever since the year 1661, the blasphemous enemies of God, who had usurped his prerogative, had instituted the 29th of *May* to be kept as a holy anniversary day, for the birth and restoration of that bloody perjur'd tyrant, *Charles II.* It was judged necessary, in detestation of the idolatrous abuse of that day, that they should publish their testimony against this, and the other sinful acts therein mentioned, upon that day. This being agreed upon; another meeting was appointed upon *Thursday, May 29th*: and betwixt and that *Mr. Douglas*, *Mr. Hamilton*, and *Rathillet* drew up the testimony. So *May 29th*, they met, and after a sermon preach'd by *Mr. Douglas*, and conferring upon, and agreeing unto the testimony, they dismissed the foot, *Mr. Hamilton* with 50 horsemen. And *Mr. Douglas*, went to the market cross of *Rutherglen*, (which is a royal burgh, two miles from *Glasgow*,) and there, after singing part of a psalm, and prayer, by *Mr. Douglas*; and one speech made by *Mr. Douglas*, and another

ther by Mr. *Hamilton*, they read their testimony against all that had been done publickly to the interest of Christ, from the beginning of the work of reformation: particularly, *the acts necessary*, which overturned the whole work of reformation; *the act for erecting of abjured prelacy*; *the declaration*, which condemned and abjured the covenants; *the act, and declaration at Glasgow*, for casting out the faithful ministers, who would not comply with prelacy; *the presumptuous act*, for appointing *May 29th* for a holy anniversary day; *the explanatory act*, 1669, and sacriligious supremacy enacted thereby; and, *the act of counsel*, their warrands and instruction for indulgences. And as the enemy had most perfidiously and blasphemously burnt our holy Covenants, in several cities of these covenanted nations. So their they did most justly burn the above mentioned wicked acts; and did extinguish the bone-fires, which was a part of the unholy solemnity of the enemies anniversary day. And having afixed a copy of their testimony upon the market cross; by prayer, and singing another part of a psalm, they concluded what they had done; and then went out of the town, with the Lord's countenance and approbation, in that which they had done.

III. As to the rencounter at *Drumclog*, the true account of it is this. *June 1st*, being the sabbath, the persecuted people of God met at *Glesterlaw*, in the parish of *Coudon*, for the publick worship of God. Either late the night before,

fore, or very early this same morning; bloody *Graham* of *Claverhouse* came from the new garrison at *Glasgow*, with three troop of horse and dragoons, in great fury, vowing and swearing, that whatever number were of them (meaning the honest people) he should be out thro' them; and according to his design, gave for his word, *no quarters*: and by the way, as he was plundering and spoiling houses, he took out of their beds, Mr. *John King*, and 17 honest country-men, whom he bound severely, two and two together, and drove them before him like beasts, and so marched towards *Loudon-hill*. Immediately after divine worship was begun, by Mr. *Thomas Douglas*; the meeting was alarmed with the news of *Claverhouse*, his coming from *Strathaven* to surprize them; and that he had taken Mr. *King*, and others of their friends prisoners; whereupon, after a short consultation, they resolved; that for the relief of the prisoners, their own defence, and the defence of the gospel, they would put their life in venture, and, thro' the Lord's assistance, go and meet that cruel raging enemy; and, to the uttermost of their power, oppose his hellish fury; and then drawing out all the men, who had any arms, and were willing to fight for the Lord's cause, from the rest of the meeting; who were 50 horsemen, ill provided in arms; 50 foot-men with guns, and 150 with halberts and forks. Mr. *Hamilton* was called to the chief command, and under him *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*; *Henry Hall*, of *Haughhead*; *John Balfour*,

Balfour, of *Kinloch*; *Robert Fleeming*, *William Cleland*, *John Loudon*, *John Brown*. *Mr. Hamilton* gave out the word, that no quarters should be given to the enemy: and then, with courage and zeal, they marched forward, till they met with *Claverhouse*, and his bloody company, near *Drumclog*, in the parish of *Evandale*, about a mile east from *Loudon-hill*. The enemy fired first on them, which they bravely withstood, and fired back on them with much gallantry; and after a short, but very warm engagement with the enemy, while the enemy were drawing near to them (a flank being betwixt them) *John Balfour*, with some horse, and *William Cleland*, with some foot, and after them the rest, most resolutely brake thro' that passage, with courage and valour, upon the enemy; and, by the good hand of God upon them, they did instantly defeat, and put *Claverhouse*, and his bloody crew to flight. They killed about thirty six or forty of them, wounded others, shot *Claverhouse's* horse under him, and he narrowly escaped. They relieved *Mr. King*, and the rest of the prisoners, whom *Claverhouse* had commanded the guard to shoot if he lost: but they were all so hotly handled at this time, that the guard got another thing to mind, than to put this part of their orders in execution. They pursued the enemy about two miles, who, in great terror, fled back to *Glasgow*. *Mr. Hamilton* discovered a great deal of bravery and valour, both in the conflict with and pursuit of the ene-

my: but when he and some others were pursuing the enemy; others flew too greedily upon the enemies spoil, small as it was, instead of pursuing the victory: and some without Mr. *Hamilton's* knowledge, and directly contrary to his express command, gave five of these bloody enemies quarters, and then let them go: this greatly grieved Mr. *Hamilton*, when he saw some of *Babel's Brates* spared; after that the Lord had delivered them to their hands, that they might dash them against the stones, *Psal.* 137. 9. In his own account of this, he reckons the sparing of these enemies, and letting them go, to be among their first stepping aside; for which he feared that the Lord would not honour them to do much more for him; and says, that he was neither for taking favours from, nor giving favours to the Lord's enemies.

In this rencounter there was killed only one man, *John Morton* in *Broomhill* in *Newmills* a Loudon-man, and five deadly wounded, who dyed of their wounds, viz. *Thomas Weir*, in *Cumberhead*; *William Dingwall*, a *Fife-man*; *James Thomson* a *Stenhouse-man*; *John Gabby* in *Fiack* and *James Dyks*, Loudon-men, who belonged to the persecuted party. After they returned from pursuing the enemy, they resolved to continue together, till they saw what the Lord would do with them. This night they went to *Hamilton*. The report of their victory over *Claverhouse*, and relieving of Mr. *King*, and the rest of the prisoners, encouraged

encouraged severals to join with them by the way: and great pity it was, that they had not pursued the enemy hotly to *Glasgow*, considering the terror that was upon them, their defeat in all seeming probability had been easy. But being weary that night, they resolved to refresh themselves a little, and to surprize the enemy then in *Glasgow*, early next morning, which delay proved to be a loss to themselves, and an advantage to the enemy, as the following account makes evident.

IV. And so in the fourth place, I shall give a true account of the most material things that happened in that army, and their council of war, from this rencounter at *Drumclog*, to their defeat at *Bothwel bridge*.

June 2d, they were resolved to make an early attack upon the enemy lying in *Glasgow*; but, by the carnal counsel of some who joined with them at *Hamilton*, they were adviled not to march to *Glasgow*, until a greater number of their friends came to their assistance by harkning to this counsel they delayed and lingered by the way too long, till the enemy fortified themselves strongly against their assault. At last they marched to *Glasgow*, and several of their friends came to them at *Hamilton*, and by the way as they went to *Glasgow*, so that their army was doubled in number to what it was the day before, but it was near the middle of the day when they came there. Before they entred the town, they divided themselves into
two

two bodies; the one under the command of Mr. *Hamilton* came up the street called the *Gallowgate*: the other came in at the other (end of the town, by the *Wynd head* and *College*; I am at a loss that I cannot tell who commanded them.) The enemy being advertised of their coming, had fortified themselves strongly with barricadoes about the cross; yet the small persecuted army shewed abundance of courage, and made such a brisk attack upon the enemy that some of the soldiers gave way; and some of their officers retired behind the *Tolbooth-stair*: but the soldiers being covered from their fire, by lying behind the rails and barricadoes, and they being on the open street, and the enemy firing upon them from closses and houses, and from behind the rails and barricadoes, at last they were put to a retreat. In this attack *Walter Paterson*, in *Carbarns*, in the parish of *Cambusnethan*, and other five of their men were killed; and some few of the enemy. Here many left them thro' discouragement: the rest went out of the town, and drew up at *Tow-Cross* muir, about a mile from *Glasgow*. The enemy sent out two hundred horse-men after them; whereupon they sent *Rathillet* and *John Balfour*, with a few horse-men to meet them. These two, with the few that were with them, went with such haste and courage to encounter the enemy, that when they came to them, the enemy retired fast back to *Glasgow*; and *Rathillet* and *John Balfour* returned back to their own army.

army. This night they returned back to *Hamilton*, and kepted guards at *Bothwell Bridge*, and other places.

June 3d, they formed themselves into a camp and held a council of war, (which, so far as I know, was the first of this kind that they had.) To this council of war a paper was given in, for regulating of the army; wherein it was desired, that none who were dissaffected to the cause of God, or scandalous, by being guilty of any of the sins of the time, such as, shedding the saints blood, swearing of false oaths, paying of cesses for supressing of the preached gospel in the fields, joyning with obscured prelacy and the indulgency, or any other publick sins, which were provoking to the Lord, should be taken into the army, or into any place of office among them, without evident signs of their repentance, and publick acknowledgement of their publick sins. This paper was approved by the council of war. And upon consideration of the discouragement, that they had met with the day before that, at *Glasgow*, they made enquiry to find out the cause of it; and found out this as one particular cause of the Lord's displeasure against them, that they had among them one *Thomas Weir* of *Greenridge*, (who had come to them, either at *Hamilton*, or on their way to *Glasgow*) who had been a trooper under *Dalzeil*, at *Pentland hills*, and was guilty of shedding of the blood of the saints there. Having found out this Achan, a minister and some elders were sent to speak discreetly to him,

him, to see if he was sensible of the evil of this publick and hainous sin; and willing to acknowledge and confess the same publickly; but *Greenridge* was so far from giving them any satisfaction this way, that he was very angry with them, for requiring the same; so they justly rejected him; and he, and such as came with him, left them that day, and went to such as made them welcome, and brought them back. Others also at this time left them; whereupon there was a great confusion in the army. In the mean time of this confusion, they were alarmed with the enemies approach to *Bothwell Bridge*: *Rathillet*, with twenty four horse-men were sent out to see if it was so; when he went out, he saw a party of the enemy near *Bothwell Bridge*; whereupon, he sent back to the army for advice and assistance, and they sent him *John Balfour*, with twelve horse-men: and, these two valiant captains with their small party of 36 horse-men set forward toward the enemy with great hazard, & stood opposite to the enemies face half a day, till at last a mist falling down, the enemy fled to *Glasgow*. That night they marched to, and quartered in *Strathaven*.

June 4th they went to *Kyperidge*, where they rendezvoused; and that night they returned and quartered betwixt *Strathaven* and *Kilbride*.

June 5th, they rendezvoused and went to commissar *Fleeming's* park in the parish of *Kilbride*; where, and there about, they quartered till next day. By this time captain *John Paton* in *Meadowhead*, with a body of horse-men from *Finnick*, *Newmills*, *Galston*, and many others joyned

joyned with them, so that the army was greatly increased: here they held a council of war, and did choose several officers, and a clerk, which as after account signifies, was Mr. *Walter Smith*.

June 6th, they rendezvoused; and hearing that the enemy had deserted *Glasgow*, they did choose eighty horse-men, and a hundred and sixty foot-men, under command of one captain *Brown*, to go to *Glasgow* and search for arms, which they were in great need of; but these being alarmed with the news, that the enemy was but a little east from *Glasgow*, and ready to enter again to the town. *Brown* was so discouraged, that he would not go forward to *Glasgow*; whereupon six youngmen, (of whom five were *Fife-men*) of their own accord, went alone through *Glasgow*, and then sent back word to the army, and they all came to, and entred the town of *Glasgow*, where they met with no disturbance. After they had searched for, and found some arms, over the tolbooth-stair they published the following short declaration.

The Declaration published at Glasgow June 6th, 1679.

“ We who are here providentially convened
 “ in our own defence, for preventing and removing of the mistakes and misapprehensions
 “ of all, especially these whom we wish to be,
 “ and

“ and hope are friends; do declare our present
 “ purposes, and endeavours to be, only in vin-
 “ dication and defence of *the true Reformed*
 “ *Religion, in its Profession and Doctrine*, as
 “ we stand obliged thereunto, by our Nation-
 “ al and Solemn League and Covenant, and
 “ that solemn Acknowledgment of Sins, and
 “ Engagement to Duties made and taken in the
 “ year, 1648. Declaring against *Popery*,
 “ *Prelacy*, *Erastianism*, and all things depend-
 “ ing thereupon.” By *Erastianism*, and *all*
things depending thereupon, they mean, *the Ec-*
clesiastick Supremacy and Indulgency, which
 flowed from the same. After the proclaiming
 of their declaration, they marched three or
 four miles south from *Glasgow*, where they
 quartered that night.

June 7th, they rendezvoused and marched
 within a mile to *Glasgow*, where they held a
 council of war, and renewed their resolution for-
 merly agreed unto, that none guilty of the pub-
 lic sins and defections of the time, should be tak-
 en into the army or council of war, without
 public confession thereof; and agreed, that no-
 thing which concerned the whole army, should
 be done, until it should be agreed upon by a
 council of war. To this council of war came
Andrew Turnbull, and Mr. *John Dick*, with the
 ill news that Mr. *John Welch* was coming to
 them. This day, before Mr. *Welch* came to
 the army, by several accounts before me, (one
 of which was written by faithful *David Hackston*,
 of

of *Rathillet*) I find that the army, at this time, were in number betwixt five and six thousand horse-men and foot-men, who were all unanimous for owning *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*; and were for prosecuting the covenanted cause of Christ in *Scotland*, in opposition to all its enemies, according to their deserts: and were for declaring against all the sins and defections, whereby God was dishonoured, and his cause wronged; and were resolved, that after sabbath's rest, they would pursue their enemies upon Monday, and prosecute their design against all God's publick enemies, to the uttermost of their power. Their leaders at this time of greatest account, were Mr. *Hamilton*, General; *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*; *Henry Hall*, of *Haugh-head*; *John Paton*, in *Meadow-head*; *John Balfour* of *Kinloch*; Mr. *Walter Smith*; *William Carmichael*, *William Cleland*, *James Henderson* and *Robert Fleeming* their ministers, Mr. *Donald Cargill*, Mr. *Thomas Douglas*, Mr. *John King*, and Mr. *John Kid*, (Mr. *Richard Cameron* was, at this time, in *Holland*.) Hitherto they were of one accord, and of one mind, in what concerned the cause and testimony of Jesus Christ, that they were appearing for, in this there was great harmony among them, but now, alas! their sweet and pleasant union, concord, and harmony, was near an end; for this day, in the evening, a sad company of Achans came into their camp, which grievously troubled the Lord's host, viz. Mr. *John Welch*, who

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brought

brought with him, about 140 horse-men from *Carrick*, and young *Blaehan* upon their head, about 300 foot-men, some corrupt ministers of his own stamp, and *Thomas Weir* of *Greenridge*, and a troop of horse men under him, tho' justly rejected by the council of war the Tuesday before this, all these were enemies to the true state of the cause that that army was appearing for; and, as faithful *Rathillet* observes, that now they had one among them, viz. *Greenridge*, that was guilty of shedding the blood of the saints, and some who were possessing the estates of the godly sufferers, who had not come that length in repentance, that *Judas* came when he brought back the price of blood, and gave it again. Now came on the honest men's sorrow and vexation; for, from the time that Mr. *Welch* came among them, till they were broken by the enemy, they were vexed with debates, strifes, contentions, prejudices, divisions, confusions, and disorders; and at last the utter overthrow of that once pleasant army: for ever after that there were two parties in that army, struggling with other; the one for truth, the other for defection, like *Jacob* and *Esau* struggling in *Rebekah's* womb, *Gen. 25: 22.* there was Mr. *Hamilton*, and the honest party with him; and Mr. *Welch* with the new in-comers, with others who came in afterward; and such as were drawn from the right state of the testimony to their corrupt ways which made up a new, and very corrupt party. (Here I must inform the reader concerning Mr. *Welch*, that
for

for a long time, he was a man in great account with the faithful sufferers in this land, but, before this time, he was fallen from his stedfastness; and turned a great advocate for, and defender of the indulgence and indulged, and a bitter opposer, prosecutor, and persecuter of faithful Mr. *Richard Cameron*, for his faithfulness in preaching freely against the indulgence, *etc.* And after that he was never faithful in the Lord's cause, nor in esteem with faithful sufferers.) And because the last party smelled rankly of Erastianism, I shall, in speaking of these two parties design them by the names of, *The honest party*, and *the Erastian party*. This evening the honest party shewed the Erastian party *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*, with which they were not well pleased; but their greatest quarrel was at the last clause of *Glasgow declaration*, viz. *Erastianism, and all things depending there upon*: for from this they understood, that a testimony against the indulgency was intended, and therefore they would have this clause scored out; but to this the honest party would not yield, so it was shut up for that night. I am not sure how many ministers of the Erastian party came unto the army, nor yet the particular times of their in-coming, (for they did not all come at once;) but the names of so many of them, as are in the accounts come to my hand, are these, Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *David Hume*, Mr. *Gabriel Semple*; Mr. *John Rae*, Mr. *Samuel Arnot*, Mr. *Andrew Morton*,
Mr.

Mr. *Hugh Kinnidy*, Mr. *John Blackkader*, Mr. *Archibald Riddel*, Mr. ——— *Lamb*, Mr. *Thomas Black* Mr. ——— *Forrester* Mr. *Robert Muir*, and Mr. *George Barclay*: but the chiefest of all these, in managing their corrupt courses, were Mr. *Welch*, and Mr. *Hume*. These two were like *Simeon* and *Levi*, with instruments of cruelty in their hands, against the right state of the Lord's cause, *Gen. 49. 5*. This night the army quartered in and about *Rutherglen*.

June 8th, being the sabbath, in the morning, many of the officers of the honest party met; and did joyntly resolve, not to join with Mr. *John Welch*, and these with him, but to oppose the armies joining with them, until they should declare themselves for God, and his covenanted cause; and against all the defections and apostacies of the time: but before they had time to make their mind fully known to the army, and to Mr. *Welch*, and the rest of the Erastian party with him, a way was contrived by some, to be free, for a time, of some such of the officers, as they feared greatest opposition from: for orders were given to *Rathillet*, *Haugh-head*, *William Carmichael*, and Mr. *Walter Smith*, to go to *Glasgow* and meet with Mr. *John King* and *John Paton*, which accordingly were obeyed, when at *Glasgow* with their men. Mr. *King* and *John Paton* led them out of the town; and they apprehending that Mr. *King* had been to preach to them some place, without the town: but at last, when they enquired where they were going, it was

was answered, (according to the orders that were privately sent to Mr. *King* and *John Paton*,) that they were ordered to go and disperse a meeting of Malitia at *Campsie*. These faithful officers did not relish these orders well; but being encouraged by Mr. *King*, they marched forward to *Campsie*; and then seeing no Malitia-men, nor no other men in arms, to their great grief they understood, that it was only a stratagem contrived and brought about by some of the *Erastian* party, to be free of Mr. *King* in the time he should have preached, and of these five faithful officers in the time of preaching, lest they should have opposed Mr. *Welch* from preaching. But to return; after these officers were sent out of the way, others of the honest officers were desired to go, and order the army as conveniently as they could for preaching; so they divided the army into three companies, (some place in or about *Rutherglen*,) designing that Mr. *Donald Cargill*, Mr. *Thomas Douglas*, and Mr. *John King* should preach at three several places, but before the preaching began, Mr. *Donald Cargill* had a private conference with Messrs. *Welch*, *Race*, *Lamb*, and *Black*: what past in this conference I know not, but Mr. *Welch*, and the *Erastian* party, got their design accomplished in this, that Mr. *Welch* preached in stead of Mr. *King*, and he, to the great grief of all honest sufferers, who heard him, preached up the *King's* authority, the subjects allegiance, the receiving in to the army all who offered themselves, without dis-

distinction of honesty or scandal, and in favours of the indulgence that flowed from the tyrants ecclesiastick supremacy. He past by all the wrongs done to Christ; all the causes of God's anger against the land; and all the national defections, except Prelacy. The report of what he preached being noised thro' the army, gave great offence to all who were honest in the Lord's cause, and was the occasion of much strife and debate thro' the army Mr. *Donald Cargill*, and Mr. *Douglas* preached directly contrary to what Mr. *Welch* preached; and, as the account of that day bears, ministers preached and prayed contrary one to another, and such as contended for the truth, and witnessed against Mr. *Welche's* corrupt courses, were, by the Erastian party, called by the name, of *The Cameronian Faction.*

June 9th, they held a council of war at *Glasgow*, to which Mr. *Welch*, and several of the Erastian party were admitted, which greatly increased strifes and debates among them, for Mr. *Hamilton*, and the honest party, set up for the regulating of the army according to the word of God, our Covenant National and Solemn League; and acts of our best reforming Parliaments, and general Assemblies, which were for purging of the army; of all such as were malignant, dissaffected to the cause of Christ, or scandalous in their conversation: for they were for keeping in, nor receiving none into the army, or to have any office in it, or vote in the council of war, who were known to be guilty
of

of any publick sins, without making a publick confession and acknowledgment thereof, which was the way they had hitherto used, in which they had the Lords countenance and assistance: but Mr. *Welch*, and the Erastian party, set up for the course and cause of the publick resolutioners, (who were the first renters and ruiners, of our covenanted constitution in church, state, and army,) by bringing of malignants, *etc.* into places of power and trust, in judicatories and armies: for they were for taking in, and keeping in, all into the army that offered themselves, whatever publick sins they were guilty of, without any confession or acknowledgment at all; and said, that their joining with the army, and appearing for the cause in arms, was sufficient satisfaction, without any confession or acknowledgment of their publick sins. This day *Henry Hall*, of *Haugh-head*, and Mr. *Walter Smith*, protested against the Erastian party, for their being against purging of the army: and Mr. *Hamilton*, and the rest of the honest officers also protested, that they were for declaring publickly against all the publick sins & defections of the time. After long debating both parties were for stating the case by a declaration; whereupon one draught of a declaration was produced by Mr. *Cargill*, and another was produced by Mr. *Welch* but neither of them was agreed unto: for the Erastian party rejected Mr. *Cargill's*, and the honest party rejected Mr. *Welch's*. The noise of this days debates

bates going through the army, sadly discourag-
ed many of the godly among them, who hitherto
had been helping forward the work; and made
severals of them, with sore hearts, to withdraw:
and such as continued were made to fear, that
for joining with such as were continuing in these
publick sins, that the Lord was contending with
the land for, without repenting for, and con-
fessing, and forsaking the same would provoke
God to leave them, and give them up to the will
of their enemies at the last; which sadly came
to pass. After that Mr. *Welch* and the Era-
stian party had opened a door for all sorts to en-
ter in at; a number of idle vagabonds, and self-
seeking plunderers entred in among them, to
the great dishonour of God, and scandal and
reproach of the army. This night the foot
quartered in *Glasgow*, and the horse went to
the country.

June 10th, the council of war did meet a-
gain at *Glasgow*; this day the two parties had a
hot disputation, particularly concerning the in-
dulgence: and because this was one of the chief
things wherein these two parties did differ the
whole time that they were together, I shall
here give the reader a short view of this mystery
of iniquity, called, the *the indulgence*: and it
was this: after *Charles* II. usurped an ecclesia-
stick supremacy, as head of the church, he,
by virtue of the blasphemous supremacy, and
Erastian power, did give and grant, to so many
of the outed Ministers as he pleased, a sinful
Erastian

Erastian liberty, to preach in such places as he pleased, and according to the rules, directions, restrictions, limitations, that he was pleased to prescribe to them; which rules and restrictions, *etc.* They, by his authority, as head of the church, received in write, from his ecclesiastick deputes, the lords of his bloody privy council, which they were to obey under pain of deprivation. And to these his privy counsellors in this were these indulged Ministers countable for the exercise of their ministry, according to this their new Erastian holding, which they had wholly of man, and from which they were to be deprived by these men, (*viz.* The bloody council,) which gave them the same, in case of transgression. By all which the accepters thereof, declared themselves to be servants of men: being properly the tyrant and councils of Erastian ministers. This day (as accounts bears) the officers of the honest party proved, that the indulgency was a homologating of the ecclesiastick supremacy, in the hands of these that had usurped it from the Lord Jesus Christ; and that it was founded upon the supremacy, granted and accepted by virtue thereof; and that it was of the same nature and stamp with Erastianism; and, to all intelligent persons, was a manifest detection, since Erastianism was equally abjured by the church of *Scotland*, with Popery and Prelacy; particular in the *engagement to duties*, made at the renewing of the Solemn League and Covenant, in the year 1648. Mr. *Welsh*, and

the Erastian party's great plea for the indulgence was, that it was not declared sinful nor Erastian by a general Assembly: they might upon the same reason, justified that wicked; and heaven-daring act, which rescinded the whole covenanted work of reformation, and the wicked laws which established prelacy, perjury, and tyranny; for these had not been declared sinful by a general Assembly. This day the Erastian gentlemen cried out, in the council of war, against the faithful officers who were contending for truth, saying, O! would they cast off Mr. *Welch*, and the rest of the ministers that followed him, such as Mr. *Hume*, Mr. *Rae*, Mr. *Barclay*, Mr. *Lamb*, and Mr. *Forrester*, etc. And follow no ministers, but Mr. *Cargill*, Mr. *Douglas*, Mr. *King*, and Mr. *Kid*. This day Mr. *William Dunlop*, brought the draught of a declaration from some indulged ministers to the army, (which they intended should be the state of the army's quarrel:) it was very acceptable to the Erastian party, and shown to the council of war by Mr. *Hume*: but because it owned the tyrant's interest; favoured the design of the supremacy; and was inconsistent with *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*, and the true state of the cause that the honest party were appearing for, they positively refused it, whereupon some of the Erastian party in displeasure, declared, that they would come no more to the honest party's councils: and that same day did speak to several of the officers, to engage a party for themselves.

selves, to oppose and out-vote these who declared against the indulgence, signifying to them that within few days, they would easily prevail by number. *James Ure*, of *Shargartan*; *Thomas Weir*, of *Greenridge*, and young *Blachan*, were chief men for the indulgence, and every corrupt course that was moved among them. This day Mr. *Welch*, and others of the Erastian ministers, wrote letters to several indulged gentlemen through the country. Some of which were such strengtheners of the supremacy, and approvers of the indulgence, and such enemies to the purely preached gospel in the fields, that they had written to the bloody council, for indulged ministers to preach to them, and promised to them, that they should root out field-meetings, inviting them to come to the army, and when some of the honest officers found fault with them for this; because it was a falling back to that sin of the indulgence, that God had once separated them from, and had given his countenance unto such as had declared faithfully against it; they answered, these officers, that if they would not yield to them, they would take the leading of that army off their hands, and get fitter persons to lead it; and this indeed appeared plainly to be their design, to have such a multitude of lax, loose, indulged gentlemen, and others, brought unto the army, and to vote in the council of war, as might vote all the honest officers out of their offices, that so they might lead the army at their

their own pleasure. This day the army buried honourably the heads of the martyrs; who suffered martyrdom at *Glasgow*, *Air*, and *Irwin* after the defeat at *Pentland-hills*. This night the army marched to *Towcross*, the foot lay in the park, and the horse in places thereabout. The ministers were all left at *Glasgow*, except Mr. *Douglas*, to consult and advise how to remove differences; in which nothing at all was done:

June 11th, some of the officers went back to *Glasgow* to see what was done; and having brought back the news to the army, that the indulgence was still approven of by the *Erastian* party; the door opened wider and wider, for receiving greater numbers of persons who were defiled with the abominations of the time; and such invited them to come to the army; it so discouraged the godly in the army, that it caused many of them to withdraw, and leave them. This night the army went back to *Hamilton*.

June 12th, a council of war held on *Hamilton-muir*: the chief thing that they had under consideration this day was, the stating of the cause for which they were to fight. The honest party were resolute for adhering to *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*; and to extend the same in a more full and ample declaration, which should condemn all the lands publick sins, and defections, Mr. *Hume* presented a declaration to the council of war, in name of the *Erastian* party, in which they had inserted

serted the third article of the Solemn League and Covenant; and did positively declare that the second reason of their continuing together in arms, was, the preserving and defending the King's majesty's person and authority, *etc.* The honest party refused this declaration as the state of their quarrel; because it took in the tyrants malignant interest which they had waved in *Rutherford's testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*; and did not make mention of the acknowledgment of sins, and engagement to duties, nor of all the publick sins and defections of the time; and did protest, that they could not, in conscience, declare for the King, since he was now in a stated opposition to the cause and interest of Jesus Christ, which they were sworn to maintain and defend, and were now asserting, against which he and all his followers had declared war, for all the cruelties, present persecution, and oppression of the time in *Scotland*, (for the redress whereof they were now appearing,) were prosecute in his name, and by his authority. And therefore the asserting, and pleading for having that article of the covenant, with application to him, in their declaration, could not consist with the meaning, intentions, and practice, of the framers of the Solemn League and Covenant, which bound the land first to God, then to one another, and, in the last place, to the King's lawful authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion; which, since the present King had overturned and ruined the
cove-

covenanted work of reformation, and liberties of the nation and persecuted to the death the owners of both, had erected abjured prelacy and Erastianism, and exercised great oppression and cruelties against all the faithful owners of the covenanted work of reformation; had publicly burnt the solemn league and covenant, by the hand of the common hang-man; and had plainly broken all the conditions of government, sworn at his coronation to the people, upon which his right of authority to rule over them, and their alledgenceto him were founded: by all which it followed that the subjects tyes, and obligations that they were under, to him by vertue of that article of the covenant, were loos'd: and therefore that article, taking in his interest, ought not to be insert in the declaration with application to him, but his interest must be put out of the declaration, before they could own it. Yet notwithstanding of all that was said, the Erastian party refused absolutely, to take that article that asserted the tyrant's interest out of the declaration; for Mr. *Welch*, and Mr. *Hume*, said, that by that time, the declaration was very near as far off as *London*, and that their credit was so far engaged in it; that they could not consent to have it in any thing altered: by this the honest party came to understand, that they had spread it among their own friends, without their knowledge or consent. Then the honest party desired, that since they would keep in the third article of the covenant,

that

that bound to the King, they would also insert the fourth article, which oblidgeth every one, in these three covenanted nations, to discover, and to bring to condign punishments, all Malignants, incendiaries, and evil instruments, that hinders reformation; but this they refused also. Then, after long reasoning about this declaration, in which they could not agree, it was put to a vote in the council of war, and by a plurality of votes, it did carry, that, that declaration should be rejected; and that in the declaration to be owned by the army, all the land's publick sins, and particularly the indulgence, name and thing, should be declared against; and that Mr. *Cargill* should draw up the declaration. The Erastian party being out-voted, by the honest party, in the council of war, in great fury, Mr. *Welch*, and Mr. *Hume*, went through *Hamilton*, and the Duke's park, where the army lay, and cried out against the opposers of their declaration, saying to the army, that they were against any declaration, and that thereby they kept their friends, through the land, from joyning with them for their help and assistance, for they would not come and join with them for their help, till once they stated the cause they were to fight for by a declaration, and that they would murder the army and take their blood upon them, by keeping back their friends from their help, by opposing their declaration, and all that they were seeking by this, was to perswade the army to be for their malignant declaration, that
opened

opened a wide door for malignants, and all that pleased, to joyn with them, that so, by the arm of flesh, they might be able to overcome their enemies; which as it was *a doing of evil, that good might come of it*, so it brought them under that wrathful threatning, *Jer. 17. 5, 6. Thus saith the Lord, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord. For he shall be like the heath in the desert, and shall not see when good cometh.* I am sure the way that the honest party was endeavouring after, to have the cause rightly stated, the army duely purged, and days appointed for fasting and mourning before the Lord, for their own and the land's abominations; to confess and forsake the evil of their doings, by putting away the strange Gods from among them, and keeping the accursed thing out of their camp, was a far better way to have had the Lord's aid and assistance, who could have saved as well by few as by many, and *one, to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight, 1 Sam. 14. 6. Deut. 32. 30.*

June 13th, about the break of day, there came a sudden alarm to the camp, that a party of the enemy had beset a party of the army, who were keeping guard at *Bothwell-bridge*, whereupon the most part of the officers of the honest party went out upon service: and Mr. *Hamilton*, in all hast, mounted his horse to go with the rest, at that very instant of time as he was going

ing out of quarters, which was in the Duke's park, old *Major Carmichael*, came to him, and told him, that *Mr. Hume* was going to read their declaration in his absence to the army: *Mr. Hamilton* charged *Major Carmichael*, upon his highest peril, to return and stop *Mr. Hume* from what he was designing. The Major accordingly returned, and, with great difficulty, got *Mr. Hume* hindred from proclaiming their declaration; for he was necessitate to drive *Mr. Hume* away with his Sword, from the place where he was going to proclaim it. In the mean time *Mr. Welch*, and *Mr. Hume*, and their party improved this occasion of the honest officers absence, to get their unhappy design accomplished. *Mr. Hamilton* returned before the rest of the honest officers, that were gone upon service; and whenever he returned, *Mr. Welch*, and others of the *Erastian* party went to him; and some few officers, who were with him; and, with a great deal of intreaty, they urged the publication of their declaration. *Mr. Hamilton*, in the name of the honest party, positively refused to yield to their desire; and told them plainly, that they could not, nor would not own their declaration, because it owned the tyrant's interest; and did not mention fully the publick sins and defections of the time. When *Mr. Hamilton* was opposing them in their design, three or four old gray-headed men, (influenced by *Mr. Welch*, etc.) besought *Mr. Hamilton* with tears, that they would suffer their declaration

to be published: then Mr. *Welch* and *Hume*, promised to Mr. *Hamilton*, and the few officers that were with him, that if they would allow their declaration to be read to the army that day, that they should be faithful in all time coming, in preaching against the indulgence, and all the rest of the land's defections: and gave their faith and promise, that it should be changed and enlarged at Mr. *Hamilton*, and the rest of the honest parties pleasures; and what was ambiguous in it explained; and what was wrong should be left out; and what was wanting should be supplied; before it should be either printed, or any otherwise published, save only the reading of it that day, which they earnestly desired might be done, only with a design to please some, who (as they said) would not join in the army; till once their cause was stated by a declaration: and promised that Mr. *Douglas*, and Mr. *King* should, at the reading of it, give publick intimation to the army what they had promised, and that these things which they had promised should, for their satisfaction, be done: at last, by their treacherous dealing, they prevailed with Mr. *Hamilton*, and some few officers with him, to consent to the publication of their declaration, upon condition that all these things, which they had promised, should be performed: but in the mean time, that they gave their consent to this, faithful and valiant *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*, protested against it. Mr. *Hamilton* in giving the account of this says, ' That
in

‘ in this he was lamentably ensnared; & adds, That
 ‘ it was sad, O sad to him afterwards.’ Whenever
 that consent was given, Mr. *Welch* and Mr.
Hume, etc. went to the market cross of *Hamilton*, and proclaimed that sinful declaration, with-
 out observing that condition promised, viz.
 That Mr. *Douglas*, and Mr. *King* should give
 intimation above mentioned; for Mr. *Douglas*
 and Mr. *King* were not suffered to speak one
 word at that time: for whenever the declarati-
 on was proclaimed, Mr. *Welch*, Mr. *Hume*,
 and Mr. *Rae*, each of them after another, made
 a speech, (to such of the army and others that
 heard them) wherein they confirmed all that
 was in it, concerning the owning of the tyrant’s
 interest, etc. By this declaration the cause and
 quarrel of the army was basely mis-stated; and
 the unjust right of one of the greatest of Christ’s
 avowed enemies cryed up, and proclaimed.
 When Mr. *Hamilton* heard it proclaimed, and
 the condition they had promised at the procla-
 mation not observed, he says it struck him so
 dead, that he knew not well what he was do-
 ing: and after it was over, he ran to a house
 where Mr. *Welch*, and others of the Erastian
 ministers were, and there fell down upon a bed,
 as one distracted; and a little after, he told
 Mr. *Welch*, and the rest of them, that they had
 dealt treacherously with them; and had murder-
 ed the Lord’s cause and the poor army. This sin-
 ful deed greatly increased the divisions and con-
 fusions in the army, and occasioned the with-
 drawing

drawing of many of the godly from them, and sadly discouraged the faithful, who continued with them, when they saw their former faithful testimonies contradicted and condemned; the state of their quarrel changed; and the interest of one of God's greatest enemies espoused; which they saw would, as it proved, provoke God to leave them. After Mr. *Hamilton* had told his mind to Mr. *Welch*, and these with him, he went out from them, and called a council of war, to annul that sinful declaration: after that the council of war met, the honest officers, who were out upon service all the time of that sinful action, and had no hand in it, were exceedingly grieved in spirit, and highly offended at what was done; both because the thing it self was contrary to the true state of their testimony; and the doing of it contrary to what they had agreed upon, that nothing which concerned the whole army should be done, until it was agreed upon by a council of war. The *Erastian* party sent their desire in write to the council of war, which was to know if they would adhere to their now published declaration. The council of war returned answer in write, that they would not adhere to their declaration: and then the council of war did annul *Hamilton* declaration, so that it was to them as if it had never been: and did conclude, that immediately the causes of the Lord's wrath against the land should be drawn up, and that *Hamilton* declaration should be mentioned, as
 one

one of the last causes thereof: and that Mr. *Donald Cargill*, with the assistance of *Henry Hall*, of *Haughhead*, and Mr. *Walter Smith*, should be employed to do it. And that in all haste they should also make ready the new declaration which Mr. *Cargill* was to draw up, and give them unto the council of war, that both these might be proclaimed together immediately. Mr. *Hamilton* says, that altho' both these were undertaken; yet the Lord did not honour them to perform the same. And the truth is, the Lord never gave them such countenance and success in any way of their undertaking, after they received the *Erastian* party among them, as he had done before. In the mean time Mr. *Welch* and Mr. *Hume*, and the rest of the *Erastian* managers, without the knowledge and consent of the honest party; and without making any alteration in it directly contrary to their faith, and promise, went in haste to *Glasgow*, and printed *Hamilton* declaration, and published it at the market crosses of *Glasgow*, *Lanark*, *Air*, *Irvin*, etc. (with a *God save the King* in the end of it,) as the declaration of the whole army. In this these treacherous dealers dealt very treacherously. This night the army went to the parish of old *Munkland*.

June 14th, they called a council of war at *Hags*; the honest officers sent one of their number to Mr. *Welch* and Mr. *Hume*, etc. to intreat them, in their name, that, according to their promise, they might preach against all the publick

publick sins and defections of the time; particularly against the indulgence, without which they could not be satisfied. This message was very ill taken, and they returned this answer to the council of war, that they were contending against one supremacy, and setting up another in their own person, which was worse than the other; by laying restrictions upon ministers.

June 15th, being the sabbath, the army and country people, met at *Shawhead-muir*, in the parish of old *Munkland* for preaching, where the debates and confusions were very great. This day Mr. *Hamilton*, and the rest of the honest officers, protested, before the people, that none should preach there that day, but such as should declare the whole counsel of God to the people; at this Mr. *Welch* Mr. *Hume*, and the rest of the Erastian ministers, cryed out, and said, that they were encroaching upon ministerial liberty, and giving ministers instructions, but tho' this be an ordinary reflection, with which time-serving ministers, who will not apply their doctrine faithfully against the publick sins and defections of their own time, use to baffle poor people to silence with, where they complain for want of due and necessary application in their sermons; yet the reflection is very groundless; for since the Lord hath allowed the common people a judgment of discretion, to try the spirits, whither they are of God; to prove their doctrine to know if it be agreeable to the word God; and given them a command to *say to Archippus*,
(that

(that is, any minister of the Gospel) *Take heed to the ministry, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it,* 1 John 4. 1. Acts, 17. 11. Col. 4. 17. which they cannot do, unless they declare the whole counsel of God, *Acts* 20. 27. they may lawfully put corrupt or negligent ministers in mind of their duty, which the word of God obligeth them to, without being guilty of incroaching upon ministerial freedom, or giving ministers instructions. This day the Lord was grievously dishonoured, and his people sadly discouraged with the unchristian carriage and corrupt doctrine of Mr. *Hume*: for,

1. When Mr. *John Kid* was going to preach, Mr. *Hume*, in a great rage, had the impudence to come where he was, and commanded him to begone out of his sight, and called him a troubler of the church for no reason that I know of, but because he had preached faithfully against their idol, the indulgence.

2. After Mr. *Hume* had driven away Mr. *Kid*, he went, in great fury, to the place where Mr. *Douglas* was going to preach to a meeting of the honest party, who had called him to preach to them; and after Mr. *Douglas* had opened his book to sing a psalm, Mr. *Hume* thrust him away by violence, and then, by usurpation, stepped in himself, in his place, and said, whither shall I turn my face; whereupon Mr. *Douglas*, and the people he was to preach to, went

went to another place, where he preached to them.

3. Then some of Mr. *Hume's* own sort gathered to him; and he went on and preached up, to the confusion of his hearers, the owning of the King's lawful authority; and the lawfulness of receiving, all persons into the army whomsoever, that offered themselves, whatever their principles or former practices had been, without any publick confession or acknowledgment of their publick sins, and said, their offering of themselves to the army, was sufficient satisfaction for their former scandalous practices. Some of his hearers were so stumbled at his carriage, and doctrine, that they went & left him, and the people did plead for the power and priviledge of calling such ministers to preach to them, as they could with freedom hear. So after the day was far spent, ministers, (as they were called) preached in several places, where it was observed, that they preached and prayed directly contrary one to another.

This day Major *Joseph Lermount* and a considerable number of horse-men and foot-men came to the army. Many of the godly in the army, who in the hour, and under the power of temptations, had fallen into many of the publick sins and defections of the time, were longing and crying for a day, or days of humiliation and fasting, wherein they might afflict their souls before the Lord, for these publick sins they were guilty off; and might, for the glory of God, and
peace

peace of their own conscience, make a free publick confession and acknowledgment of their publick sins, before God and his people. And Mr. *Hamilton*, and all the honest officers, were very forward for this; that, according to the practice of the godly in former times, the causes of God's wrath against the land should be enquired into; and all publick known sins publicly confessed and mourned over, and mercy and pardon sought for from the Lord; and his counsel, conduct, and blessing intreated for, before they should engage with the enemy: and that this duty might be presently condescended upon; a council of war did meet that evening at *Hags*. The ministers met in one room, and the officers in another: all the officers present did unanimously vote for a day of humiliation and fasting, for the lands publick sins; but no harmony in this could be obtained among the ministers: for tho' the faithful ministers were very forward for it, the *Erastian* ministers except Mr. *George Barclay*, to the utmost of their power opposed it. So after some reasoning among them concerning it, the ministers came in to the room, where the officers were sitting: Mr. *Donald Cargill* spoke first: and before the council of war and the rest of the ministers, he said, "Gentlemen, it seems now that we must part, " and I take you all to witness, and here I protest and take instruments in the clerk's hand, " that the cause of our parting is, that therest of " the ministers will not consent to a day of

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" humi-

“humiliation and fasting, for the lands publick
 “sins.” And said to the clerk, “Let this be re-
 “corded for our vindication to posterity, that
 “it may be a witness before the Lord for us, to
 “after generations, and against them: that
 “thereby any may see, where this sin lyes, of
 “forbearing so great, and so necessary; a duty
 “so much sought for by almost all in the army,
 “except these ministers, and a few that have
 “taken part with them.” O! how sad and la-
 mentable was it, that when the people offered
 themselves willingly to the Lord, to fast and
 mourn for their own, and the land’s abomina-
 tions, and to jeopard their lives upon the high
 places of the fields, for his cause and interest,
 that they were thus kept back from their duty,
 by ministers, who, according to their station,
 office, and charge, should have been chief en-
 couragers of them in this, and all other duties?
 After that Mr. *Cargill* had taken instruments
 against them, the faithful officers were intend-
 ed, immediatly to have gone and intimate this
 to their brethren in the army, and then to have
 separated themselves from the Erastian party,
 but when the Erastian party perceived this, they
 intangled them again, and desired that they might
 give them another day to consult the Lord con-
 cerning this, and they would report their mind
 to the council of war upon *Tuesday*.

June 16th, the council of war met at *Shaw-*
head Muir, but because of the absence of all
 the

the ministers, and many of the officers, nothing that I know of was done this day.

June 17th, the council of war did meet again at *Shawhead Muir*; the ministers were all absent; the officers of the council of war did choole six men for general officers in the army, viz. Major *James Lermount*, Major *William Carmichael*, *Fahn Paton*, in *Meadowhead*, *Robert Fleeming*, *James Henderson*, and *William Cleland*. What the general offices of the last four were, the accounts I have seen clears not: I suppose they were chosen to be Colonels of regiments. This day they had a general rendezvous.

June 18th, the council of war met in a barn near *Shawhead Muir*, where were the most part of all the officers of the army, and the ministers after mentioned, where the necessity of a day of fasting and humiliation was again proposed, reasoned upon, and then put to a vote. All the officers in the council of war (except *Shargarton*, and *James Carmichael*, who were against it, and two young gentlemen, who declined to give their vote in this, in Mr. *Welch* and *Humes* absence,) unanimously voted, that the next day, being *Thursday, June 19th*, should be a solemn day of fasting and humiliation in the army, to confess and acknowledge all their publick sins, and to mourn for all the publick defections of the land. And for that effect, they did choole four ministers, viz. Mr. *Donald Cargill*, Mr. *Thomas Douglas*, Mr. *John King*, and Mr. *George*

George Barclay (who at that time pretended to be more for the honest parties cause, than the rest of the *Eraastian* ministers were,) and four of the officers of the army, who were elders of the church of *Scotland*, viz. *Henry Hall*, of *Haughhead*, *John Paton*, in *Meadowhead*, *William Carmichael*, and *Andrew Turnbull*, to draw up the causes of the Lord's wrath against the land, which were to be the causes of their fast. And then the council of war went to consult concerning the most convenient place, that they could think upon, where the fast should be holden: and the four ministers, and four elders went to a barn, by themselves, to draw up the causes of the fast: but, in the mean time, that the council of war, ministers and elders, were thus imployed, *Mr. Welch* came to the council of war to stop their design, when he came into them, he told them how careful he had been, and what pains he had been at to engage many to join with them, but now finding them unworthy to be consulted with, because they were out of the old troden paths, and were antimonarchical and anarchieal, therefore he was sent to them, by a committee of suffering ministers, to exoner and free himself of the blood of that army, by withdrawing from them, and taking all his friends that would follow him, with him; and go to others who were more worthy to be consulted with than they were: the officers said his message was very acceptable.

When, in a great transport of wrath, he opposed

posed their design of keeping the intended fast day; and said, if they would have a day of humiliation and fasting gone about, let it be insert as one of the chief causes thereof, that ministers (particularly Mr. *Richard Cameron*;) had preached against the indulgence, and people heard them, and others declared against it, before the sin thereof was declared by a general assembly. Then the officers asked at him, if they should mourn for the testimonies of such as witnessed against the indulgence, when sealing their testimony with their blood, particularly *Thomas Weir*, in *Cumberhead*, and *William Dingwall*, in *Fife*, who, when dying of their wounds, at *Drumclog*, blessed the Lord that he had honoured them to seal a testimony with their blood, against that indulgence. He answered, yes: and for all that hath been preached, spoken, or written against it, by Mr. *Cameron Cargill*, *King*, *Kid*, *Dickson*, etc. And for all the *Holland* ministers testimonies against it; (by *Holland* ministers he chiefly meant Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *M^r Ward*, who were then in *Holland*, and wrote faithfully against the indulgence,) many of the faithful officers, who were present, had great joy; and blessed the Lord for the great discovery that Mr. *Welch* had given of himself, and took one another to witness, what they had heard and seen; for they hoped that thereby they would be made free from him and his *Eraastian* party. then Mr. *Welch* left the council of war, and went to the barn where the ministers

nisters and elders were drawing up the causes of the fast, and did after the same manner, most vehemently oppose the same, till at last he got them broken up, from doing any more in this great and necessary duty, so the keeping of the fast was (by his means) altogether stopt and hindred, to the great grief of many godly men in the army, who were sensible of their guilt, of some one or other of the then abominations of the time; and had their consciences burdened therewith; which they were resolved for the glory of God, and peace of their own conscience, freely to confess and acknowledge to God, and his people. Thus, when the godly were rejoicing, in hope of a seasonable occasion to confess their publick sins publickly to the Lord, and his people, they were sadly disappointed of their hope, and grievously troubled and discouraged thereby.

The causes of the Lord's wrath, so far as the clerk had written them; before Mr. *Welch* broke them up from the same were as follows:

“ Ennumeration of publick defections, *June*
 “ 18th, 1679. As to these before the restora-
 “ tion, we refer to the causes of God's wrath,
 “ since the year 1660. We reckon, (1.) The
 “ universal rejoycings, bone-fires, and riotings,
 “ that were almost every where throughout the
 “ land, at the King's return, and yearly since,
 “ the many publick abuses then committed, and
 “ frequent profaning of the Lord's name. (2.)
 “ The establishing of, and complying with ab-
 “ jured

“ jured prelacy. (3.) The neglecting of publick
 “ testimonies and protestations, against the e-
 “ recting of that tyrannical, abjured herarchy,
 “ and against the defacing of the Lord’s glorious
 “ work, and overturning the right government
 “ of his house. (4.) The great and publick sin
 “ of many in taking unlawful bonds, called
 “ *bonds of peace*, etc. which are contrary to our
 “ solemn oaths and covenants. (5.) The paying
 “ of unlawful cefs and taxations, imposed and
 “ levied, for keeping up the sacrilegious supre-
 “ macy, and for maintaining foldiers to suppress
 “ the gospel. (6.) The complying with abjured
 “ Erastianism; ministers appearing at the courts
 “ of usurping rulers, and their accepting from
 “ them warrants and instructions (founded upon
 “ the sacrilegious supremacy) to admit them to,
 “ and regulate them in the exercise of their mi-
 “ nistry; their leading blindfold alongst with
 “ them, many of the godly in that abjured
 “ course: their indulgence becoming a publick
 “ sin and snare, both to themselves and others.”

As these were just and weighty causes of fasting,
 so, there is no doubt but that the enumera-
 tion thereof, had been more distinct: and much
 larger, if they had not been stopped therein,
 by that unhappy instrument of their ruin, Mr.
Welch, and the men of his confederacy, for
 whom he acted in this.

The great reason of the Erastian party, their
 vigorous opposing of the fast, was, for fear the
 granting and accepting of the indulgence had
 been

been made a cause thereof. Of this Mr. *Walter Smith*, in his *steps of defection*, justly complains: “*Sept. 14th*, we were oppress’d by a number of “indulged ministers and gentlemen, that still “opposed the keeping of a day of humiliation, “lest we should make mention of their idol *the* “*indulgence*, as one of the causes of the Lord’s “controversy against the land.” This day, after that Mr. *Welch* had wickedly stopped the keeping of the much desired fast day, the army was in a great confusion and disorder thereby: and had a clear call, from his unaccountable and unchristian carriage towards them, to have separated themselves from him, and his corrupt Erastian party, and were so far resolv’d upon it, that the faithful ministers and officers gave intimation to the army, that they would separate themselves from all the Erastian party; but they were prevented in this, by the carnal counsels of a corrupt sort of men among them, called *peace-makers*; who, (because they had a greater regard to peace than to truth,) still interceded for peace and union with, and against separation from the Erastian party; which proved very hurtful to truth, and to the sincere owners thereof. This night the army march’d in great disorder, from the *Shawhead-muir*, towards *Airdry*; but because they thought not that a convenient place to quarter in, they return’d and march’d in the night time, the way by *Bothwell Bridge* to *Hamilton-muir*, where they continued till they were defeat and broken:

June 19th, the army being weary, they rested in the forenoon. This day the principal officers of the honest party, went through the troops and regiments of the army (especially such as had corrupt Erastian officers,) and gave them a true account of the right state of the Lord's cause, which our fathers had walked in, in the time of our best reformation, while they kepted the Lord's way, and he was with them: and of their own endeavours to walk in a conformity thereunto, at *Drumclog*, and ever before the Erastian party came among them. After this Mr. *Hamilton*, and the rest of the faithful officers of the honest party, met, and were resolving to emmit a faithful declaration, which might separate them and the Erastian party, but while they were consulting about this, they were stopped in their design, by reason of an alarm, that the enemy was approaching towards them: whereupon they sent out *John Balfour*, *Andrew Turnbull*, and Mr. *Walter Smith*, with their three troops of horse; and *Robert Dick*, and some volunteers, who all did rencounter with a party of the enemy, till the enemy fled; and when this was over, the army was grievously disquieted with the false lies, and reproachful calumnies, wherewith their ears were filled, which Mr. *Welch*, and his associates spread through the army of Mr. *Hamilton*, wherewith the honest party were assaulted, namely, that, Mr. *Hamilton* had a design to set up himself another *Cromwel*; to be their pro-

tector, against all monarchical government, and that he designed to sell the army to the enemy, etc. so one thing after another still frustrated their design, of publishing a faithful declaration, to separate them from that corrupt party, who were hastning on their overthrow.

June 20th, a large augmentation of corrupt Erastian gentlemen, and others, from *Galloway*, and other places, (whom Mr. *Welch* etc. had written for,) came this day to the army. After they had consulted with Mess. *Welch* and *Hume*, and the rest of their Erastian brethren, the Erastian party drew up, and sent to Mr. *Hamilton*, and the rest of the faithful officers of the honest party, the following paper, which they desired them to subscribe:

“ We the officers of the presbyterian, army,
 “ adhering to the declaration published at *Ha-*
 “ *milton* the 13th, of *June* instant 1679, do
 “ hereby declare, that we have no intention,
 “ nor design to overturn the government, civil
 “ or ecclesiastick, whereunto we are solemnly
 “ sworn, in our National and Solemn League
 “ and Covenants; and that it is our judgment and
 “ opinion, that all matters now in controversy
 “ be forborn, and referred to be determined, by
 “ their proper judicatories, viz. a free and unlimi-
 “ ted parliament, and a lawful general assembly.”

The faithful officers justly rejected this paper; for if they had subscribed it, the Erastian party would have had, all that they were seeking of them, viz. the owning of the malignant interest.

of that perjured tyrant, *Charles II.* in the state of there quarrel, which *Hamilton declaration* fully owned: and binding themselves up, from condemning, mourning for, preaching, praying, or any other way witnessing against the indulgence, and supporting of the sacrilegious supremacy, and owning and upholding of the bloody tyrant on the throne of iniquity *etc.* untill an unlimited parliament and lawful general Assembly should declare these things to be sinful altho' there was no parliament nor general Assembly then in *Scotland*: but such as were open avowed enemies to Jesus Christ, his cause, interest, and people, when the faithful officers returned their paper, they sent back word to them that sent it, that before they subscribed that paper, they behoved to be informed, what these things were, which wereto be forboren in preaching and praying, *etc.* until determined by a lawful parliament and Assembly. To this the *Erastian* party gave them no answer and so far as I know the paper was no more insisted upon, only these who sent it, did most falsely assert, that these that refused to subscribe it; were anarchical and antimonarchical. This night there was one guard at *Bothwell Bridge*, and another at the ford east from *Hamilton*. At the ford, eighteen of the enemy assaulted four of the guard, and killed one of them, named *James Cleland*: the other three with great resolution fired upon, put to flight, and did pursue these eighteen, till they fled away from them.

June

June 21st, a council of war was called to meet upon *Hamilton-muir*, to determine of new, that none should be admitted into the army, or council of war, but such as should be found straight in the Lord's cause, by owning *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*; and disowning *Hamilton declaration*; and all the rest of the land's publick sins. Before the council of war met, the Erastian party propoled, that ministers should sit and vote in the council of war, (for many of their ministers were there present; but none of the faithful ministers, save only Mr. *Donald Cargil*) the honest party opposed this; but when it was further urged by the Erastian party, the honest party said, if ministers sat in the council of war, elders should sit their also; (for they had many faithful elders with them) the Erastian party replied to this, no elders should sit there, unless, they were of their choosing. After sometime of fruitless reasoning upon this, the council of war did meet; and then the Erastian gentlemen, who came to the army the day before, with their ministers came into the council of war, uncalled and undesired: after they were come all in, Mr. *Hamilton* being preces to the council of war, (as he had formerly been) he did in their name, give them an account of their resolution, as to the state of the cause that they were to fight for, which was the owning of *Rutherglen testimony*, and *Glasgow declaration*; and disowning *Hamilton declaration*, and all the land's

land's publick sins and defections. The *Galloway* gentlemen, their ministers, and the rest of the *Eraastian* party, told them plainly and positively, that they would not own such a cause, nor join with the army in it. Then these gentlemen and ministers, set themselves down in the council of war, by intrusion, and began to reason in their matters, as if they had been members thereof. Then Mr. *Hamilton* told them, that none were to reason or vote in the council of war, but such as were officers of the army. To which *Thomas Weir of Greenridge*, and the rest of the *Eraastian* gentlemen answered, that they disowned all that had been officers in that army formerly, and that they would own none for officers, but such as should be chosen of new by the gentry. Then with a design to turn out all the faithful officers of the honest party, and to have all their places filled with men of their own denomination; they pretended that many of the present officers were unfit, to be trusted with any command or office in the army; and therefore they urged, that all the places of office in the army should be declared vacant; and, that new officers, that were more capable and fit, for the command and leading of the army, should be chosen by the gentry; and that all bygoners should be bygoners; and that a way might be laid down, to admit into the army, all that would join with them. Whereupon, Mr. *Hamilton* rose, and in his own name, and the name of all who
were

were faithful in the army, entered his protestation against them; and declared, that he durst not venture his own life, and the life of the Lord's people, with such a company, and in such a cause, as they were for owning: which protestation, the rest of the faithful officers adhered unto: and then answered, and said, that as for the officers, of whose unfitness they complained, they were judged to be the most capable of any in the army when they were chosen: and, if they would condescend to state the Lord's cause right, and prosecute it against all its enemies; and keep days of fasting and humiliation for all the land's publick sins, they would willingly demit their offices, and ride as volunteers: and if while doing so, they died in battle; their cause sealed with their blood, might be published to the world; and transmitted to posterity: to this, the Erastian party answered nothing, but only this, they would own none for officers, but such as should be chosen of new, by the gentry. Then some of the honest officers rose up, and protested against admitting any to vote in the council of war, who were for maintaining and defending that publick defection, the indulgence. And *Mr. Hamilton* said, that since the sword was drawn, he thought it a duty to appear against all publick sins, and against the indulgence, as well as against prelaacy; God being dishonoured, and the supremacy strengthened, as much by the one, as by the the other. This was very ill taken by all the Erastian

Erastian party, who were so greatly increased in the council of war, by usurping gentlemen and ministers, that they were three times as many as the honest officers in the council of war, at this time. And being now numerous, they declared their mind plainly and freely, and said, that they adhered to the indulgence; and would both own it, and all that had accepted of it. Upon this, Mr. *Hamilton* rose again, and the rest of the faithful officers, who were then in the council of war with him, and said, “ Gentlemen, we have been owning the work against all the wrongs done to Jesus Christ: and now, ye are for establishing and defending that abomination, that we are witnessing against; if ye continue in this, I will go away; for I dare not continue any longer with you, nor venture my blood in battle with you.” Then Mr. *Samuel Arnot* said, that Mr. *Hamilton* should be thrust out of the council of war, as one that would set fire to a nation: Mr. *Hamilton* replied, I bless God, I have given a testimony against you, and what you are about: and so he went out and left them; and the rest of the faithful officers, who were then in the council of war, went out with him: the names of so many of them, as went out with him, that are in the accounts before me, were *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*, *Henry Hall*, of *Haughhead*, *John Paton*, in *Meadowhead*, *John Balfour*, of *Kinloch*, Mr. *Walter Smith*, *William Carmichael*, *James Henry*, *Andrew Turnbull*, *John Haddow*, *William*

liam Cleland, Alexander Ross, James Foulis, David Caldwell, John Loudon, Bewly, Tweedy, John Hamilton, James Johnston, Andrew Young, James Henderson, John Fowler, and others; Mr. Donald Cargill also went out with them, and they were resolved to join no more with the Erastian party. Whenever the faithful officers went out from the Erastian party, the Erastian party did choose *William Ferguson, of Kaitlock* for their preces, and *Mr. John Dick* for their clerk; and presently, by vote of their new pretended council of war: they concluded (without the knowledge or consent of the honest party,) that a supplication should be agreed unto, and, in the armies name, should be sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*, the tyrant *Charles Stuart's* bastard son, and general of his army. After the supplication was fully agreed upon, and made ready for sending to the Duke of *Monmouth*: the Erastian party sent two of their number, viz. *Alexander Gordon* younger, of *Earlston*, and the laird of *Bankland* to *Mr. Hamilton*, and the rest of the faithful officers with him, (who were consulting what course to take, in order to separate themselves from the Erastian party) to desire them to come back, and to give them assurance, that they should have all satisfaction they could desire; upon this condition, the honest officers returned. When they came back to the Erastian party, they protested, that they adhered to their former principles, and to all they had spoken before they

went

went out. The Erastian party took no notice of what they said: but very subtly said they had something to propose to them, which greatly concerned the army: and when they were desired to say on; they said, that it was their desire that a supplication might be drawn up, and sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*; Mr *Hamilton* (not knowing that it was already concluded among them,) in his own name and in the name of the honest party, protested against any such motion, as the supplicating of *Monmouth*, or any other of Christ's open avowed enemies, as a thing unlawful and unbecoming, and who were witnessing against the wrongs done to the Lord Jesus Christ, by his open enemies: by their perjury, persecution and supremacy, *etc.* Then Mr. *Dick* their clerk unadvisedly said, it was already concluded, and should be sent to *Monmouth*, tho' they would not consent to it: others of them contradicted Mr. *Dick*, and said, it was not done: Mr. *Hamilton* said, if it was done, it was not their deed; and then reasoned against it, shewed the sinfulness of it. The Erastian party contradicted him in this, and reasoned for the lawfulness of it. Mr. *Welch* and Mr. *Hume* and others of them were at great pains to perswade, not only the officers, but the whole army, that *Monmouth* and his bloody army had a favour and good will to them; and in the mean time of their reasoning about it, (tho' they spake as if it had been to do, and not yet done) Mr. *Dick* brought it out and read it be-

fore all present, and then their treachery was fairly discovered. Upon this, Mr. *Hamilton* in his own name, and in the name of the honest party, protested against them, and what they had done; and then he and the rest of the faithful officers went out and left them again: not fearing that they would be any more troubled with them. But after they were gone out from them, the *Erastian* party sent after them, and desired another hearing. When they were come back, some that were for peace and union amongst them, proposed, that two gentlemen, and one minister of each party should be chosen to make a decision therein. This proposal was gone unto; and the honest party did choose Mr. *Hamilton*; *David Hackston*, of *Rathillet*, and Mr. *Donald Cargill*: and the *Erastian* party did choose *William Ferguson* of *Kaitloch*, *John Cunningham* of *Bedland*, and Mr. *Andrew Morton*. When these six were gone together Mr. *Hamilton* protested against any supplication to be sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*; but after sometime debating about it, which they could not agree. Mr. *Hamilton* said, if they were willing to have the Duke of *Monmouth* informed; of his fathers, his own, and his associates rebellion against God, by their blasphemy, persecution and usurpation of church and state, *etc.* and to desire him to lay down his weapons that he had taken up against the Lord and his people, to that they would

would consent, but to no other thing: Mr. *Morton* (if not really, yet feignedly) consented to this, and said, that was all they were wanting. The two gentlemen who were with him said nothing against it; so, they all concluded, that Mr. *Cargill* and Mr. *Morton* should draw up the information; which they were desired to do faithfully; and to be sure to have nothing in it, like supplicating or owning of them, who had by usurpation cloathed themselves with the Mediator's power: which Mr. *Cargill* for his part cheerfully undertook. But when Mr. *Morton* and the two gentlemen with him, returned to the rest of their Erastian friends, they raged against Mr. *Morton*, for that which he had condescended unto; and were so far from allowing him to assist Mr. *Cargill*, in the drawing up the information, that they were resolute for sending their supplication to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and contrived a way how to insnare Mr. *Hamilton* to subscribe it. This was late on *Saturday* night; and before Mr. *Cargill* had time to draw up the information, Mr. *Hamilton* was insnared by the Erastian party, in subscribing their malignant supplication, as the next days account make evident, by reason of the confession that they had through the day; it was very late before the officers went to their charges in the army. This night *John Balfour* of *Kinloch* and his troop, went four miles from the camp where they quartered: next morning he returned to the army, and his troop

troop was to have followed him: but before they returned the army was broken, so his troop was not in the army the time of the defeat. This night *Rathillet*, *Haughhead*, and *Andrew Turnbull*, with their three troops kept a strong guard at *Bothwell Bridge*.

June 22d, being the sabbath, these three faithful and valiant captains, who stood all night with their troops at the *Bridge*, had their scouts out watching for the enemy; and after the break of day that morning, some of these scouts returned to the *Bridge* with the news, that they had a rencounter with a considerable party of the enemy: whereupon, these three captains with their troops, and some muskateers (who were come down from the body of the army to them,) marched alongst *Bothwell Bridge*, and sent some to *Bothwell town*: and when there, they discovered the enemy lighting their matches, and marching towards them, they returned to their former posture at the *Bridge*. About this very time that morning, as *Mr. Hamilton* was riding through the army, one of the *Carrick* captains of horse, through the inadvertancy of one of his own men, had received a shot in the breast, but with little harm to his person: the captain was riding after the man with a drawn sword to have killed him; but *Mr. Hamilton* by interceeding with the captain for the man's life, with some difficulty got him stopped. In the mean time, Major *Lermount* seeing the troops at the *Bridge*, engaged with some of the enemy,

my, sent an express to Mr. *Hamilton*, to come in person to the *Bridge* with three troops of horse, or, three companies of foot, for the relief of their friends at the *Bridge*. At that very instant, Mr. *Blakkader* came in great haste to Mr. *Hamilton*, with a paper in one hand, (*viz.* the *Erastian* parties supplication, to be sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*;) and pen and ink in the other, and a very false lie in his mouth; and said, he was come from Mr. *Cargill* with this information to *Monmouth*, which he said, Mr. *Cargill* begged he might subscribe in all haste, that it might be sent to *Monmouth*. Mr. *Hamilton* asked if it was Mr. *Cargill's* work; Mr. *Blakkader* answered, yes; (whereas Mr. *Cargill* knew nothing of it;) Mr. *Hamilton* being in a confused haste, thinking that it had been true that Mr. *Blakkader* said, and having no doubt concerning Mr. *Cargill's* faithfulness therein, without reading of it, did subscribe it; returned it to Mr. *Blakkader*, and desired him to deliver it to two of the faithful officers at the *Bridge*, that they might deliver it to the Duke of *Monmouth*; and thus by his present confusion, and too great simplicity, in believing Mr. *Blakkader's* word; and not reading that paper before he subscribed it: he was basely abused, treacherously betrayed, and sadly ensnared by the *Erastian* party, to subscribe their supplication with his hand, (beside his intention) which he had several times protested against with his mouth. For, according to his own account of it, he knew not that it was any other thing, than

than the information to be drawn up by Mr. *Cargill*, and Mr. *Morton* till afterward. The supplication being thus subscribed, it was carried back in haste to the authors, and owners thereof, and they did choose Laird *Murdoch*, a *Galloway* gentleman, and Mr. *Hume*, to present their supplication to the Duke of *Monmouth*. Then in haste, Mr. *Hamilton* sent *Barscob* and *James Carmichael*, and with them two troops of horse, and two companies of foot: all under the command of *Barscob*, with commission to him, to go over the river, and to be sure to give charge to the frontiers of the enemy, before they returned: but after that *Barscob* and that party were gone from the body of the army, and the officers were setting the rest of the army in order to engage the enemy: Mr. *Hume* in great haste rode up after them, and desired *Barscob* to stop, till the supplication should be sent before them, to the Duke of *Monmouth*: so *Barscob* stoped, and orders were given to a drummer, to beat a parley; and strick orders given to the army, to fire none upon the enemy the time of the parley, till the enemy should fire upon them. Then the Drummer beat the parley, as he was ordered; and they getting access, demanded a hearing, which was granted; whereupon, Laird *Murdoch* and Mr. *Hume*, passed along *Bothwell Bridge*, and went to the Duke of *Monmouth*, to whom they presented their humble, and very loyal supplication: the scope of which, was, after giving a declaration of

of their malignant loyalty to their King, *etc.* they desired, that the Duke would grant them a cessation of arms, till they treated with him concerning the redress of their injuries, wrongs and oppressions: and some accounts bear, that it was chiefly for a new indulgence: but, be this as it will, it was surely a capitulating and coming in terms of agreement, with Christ's stated standing enemies. I know no further, what past betwixt the Duke and them, but only this, that he desired to know, if they owned *Rutherglen testimony?* and Mr. *Hume* answered, God forbid. So they disowned it; and owned *Hamilton declaration*. The Duke would not grant a cessation of arms, according to their desire, nor be pleased with any other condition, nor so much as come in terms with them, till they laid down their arms, and come in his mercy. So dispatching them back to their friends, and ordering them to bring him information in half an hour's time at furthest; if they would accept of quarters upon these terms.

When these Erastian commissioners came back to the army with this report from the Duke, they could not agree to send any answer back to him. Mr. *Hamilton* and the honest party being still against all capitulating and treating with him, so, there was no answer sent back to him, neither did he wait upon any: for all the time of the parley, the enemy were making preparations, by viewing the ground, placing their cannons, ordering their men, *etc.* which might
have

have been much hindred, and execution done against them, by a party of the army, lying opposite to the enemy; if it had not been, that the *Erastian* prevailed, to get a parley beat, and all firing at the enemy strickly forbidden the time of the parley, until the enemy should fire at them; for by this, action was hindred, and liberty given to the enemy to advance upon them, without interruption; for whenever *Laird Murdoch* and *Mr. Hume*, came from the Duke, he gave orders to his army to advance towards *Bothwell Bridge*, which accordingly they did; and came up with their cannon to force the *Bridge*, and fired over upon the army. *Rathillet*, *Haughhead*, and *Andrew Turnbull* with their three troops, (who had stood there all night,) with a company of foot from *Glasgow*, who were then come down from the army with a brazen cannon: all these shewed abundance of bravery; and with much valour and gallantry defended the passage of the *Bridge*, killed some of the enemy, and made them desert their cannon: when the enemy deserted their cannon, the council of officers sent down *Barscob* and *James Carmichael*, with their two troops of horse, and two companies of *Stirling-shire-men*, commanded by *Shargarton*, and captain *Lennox*, all under command of *Barscob*, with orders to go alongst the *Bridge*, and pursue these of the enemy, who had deserted their cannon. But when *Barscob* came to the *Bridge* he would not venture over with his party to pursue the enemy;

but

but he and his party did most basely return to the army, without any thing done for their down coming. When the enemy perceived that they were not pursued, they returned to the cannons, and a new fresh regiment was sent down from their army, for their assistance, who fired very fiercely upon these at the *Bridge*, and killed two or three of them. Yet notwithstanding of this, these three troops of horse and two companies at the *Bridge*, made a very brisk resistance, untill all their ammunition was entirely spent: and then they sent to the general for a new supply of ammunition, or else, a fresh body of troops of horse well provided, for their assistance: but it seems that the general had no more ammunition to send them: whereupon, after consultation among the officers; all who were at the *Bridge*, were called up to *Hamilton-muir*, to the body of the army: so these three faithful and valiant captains, *David Hackston*, *Henry Hall*, and *Andrew Turnbull*, and their troops of horse: who (except what the *Glasgow* company of foot, with the brazen cannon did) had done all that was done against the enemy to purpose, were forced to leave the *Bridge*, (as some say) with sore hearts, when they were commanded to do so; and could neither get more ammunition nor more assistance: so far as I can understand, the calling of them from the *Bridge* was such a piece of ill conduct, that nothing can excuse it: except what I see in one of the accounts before me, which is; That they were not

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furnished with ammunition, neither for the cannon, nor for other guns: and therefore they thought, that it would be best to fight the enemy with hand strokes in the plain muir.

But after the *Bridge* was deserted; (so far as my information bears) none in that army fought one stroke: for, when ever the *Bridge* was deserted; the Duke ordered about six hundred foot and dragoons, with three cannons, to pass alongst the *Bridge* before the rest of his army, which they did, and planted their cannons opposite to the presbyterian army: the rest of his army followed very slowly. When *Rathillet*, and the rest who had been at the *Bridge* went up to the muir, (as *Rathillet* says) the army was formed, and very well drawn up upon the muir, and seemed very hearty, and all ready to march down in a body upon the enemy: and every one seemed to encourage another thereunto, so it was concluded, to fall down upon the enemy presently; but just as they were begun to move towards the enemy, upon a sudden the cry rose from troops and companies upon all hands, and went through the army, that their leaders were gone: these leaders who deserted their charge, in the day of battle, were all of the Erastian party, and were then either flying or seeking a new parley with the enemy. This stopped their advancing any further towards the enemy, till new officers were provided, to supply the places of these base cowardice unworthy, Erastian deserters. But in
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the mean time that the general, and the rest of the general officers, viz. Major *Lermount*, Major *Carmichael*, *John Paton*, *William Cleland*, *James Henderson*, and *Robert Fleeming*, were providing officers in their place; the enemy got time to plant their cannon. And at that very instant of time, *Thomas Weir*, of *Greenridge* (who had been a *sad Achan* in that camp) and with him *James Carmichael*, (another of the *Eraastian* party) rode out of the midst of the army, where they had been placed, and marched to the left hand of all, and took up their ground in the front thereof, where they did stand a little; for which they were sharply reproved by the general; who begged them for the Lord's sake, to draw about, and gather up their troops; to prevent the sad effect that was like to follow, if they did not: but they would not obey him: but cried out that they were placed there of purpose, to be cut off. And then, as men who designed the whole armies utter overthrow, they wheeled about, and drew off their men, four men in rank, and then returned to the face of the left body of the foot, and the foremost going out, and opening to the right hand thereof, on a sudden their whole two troops, consisting of one hundred and forty horse, four in rank at their full length wheeled towards the body of the foot standing their entire; rode through them, trode them down, and forced the rest to flee; who with themselves, brake down all the troops drawn up for a reserve: and then

then rode off, and fled with their troops of horse in all haste; and by this was the whole left hand broken, which occasioned the irrevocable ruin of the whole army, the army being thus disordered and broken, by these base traitors, and not by the open enemy, the enemies cannon began to play upon them at that very Instant of time, when the general was speaking with *Thomas Weir*, of *Greenridge*, and *James Carmichael*.

Whenever the enemy saw them begin to flee, they advanced upon them with great fury; and they were so far left of the Lord, that they had no power nor courage to resist, or in the least to withstand their enemies: but were in the holy over-ruling providence of God, discountenanced of God; deprived of all courage and conduct; divested of all protection, and laid open to the raging sword, and to fly shamefully before their enemies; the just punishment of owning the malignant interest, of that bloody tyrant *Charles Stuart*, in *Hamilton declaration*. The neglecting to purge the army of scandalous persons, who were dissaffected to the cause of God; and to humble themselves by fasting and prayer, for their own, and the land's publick sins and defections: and capitulating with Christ's stated open enemies, by the supplication sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*; etc. So that the blood of all that fell by the sword that day, and those of them, that afterward perished in shipwrack: might justly

ly have been charged upon all the Erastian party in general, and upon *Thomas Weir* of *Greenridge*, and *James Carmichael* in particular, who were the instruments of their overthrow, as well as upon the open enemy. The horse-men fled; and generally escaped. Worthy and valiant *David Hackston* of *Rathillet*, and his troop, were the last horse-men upon the field. The foot-men who fled, were hotly pursued, and cruelly murdered without any mercy, up and down the fields, banks and woods, wherever the bloody soldiers overtook them. The certain account of their number the day of their defeat, I have not seen in any account come to my hand. But Considering that they were betwixt five and six thousand *June 7th*, before the Erastian party came to them; and that the Erastian party, who came to them *June 7th*, and *June 20th*, were considerably many: besides these who came to them with Major *Lermount*, *June 15th*, etc. altho' several through discouragment went and left them, at several times before their defeat; yet there is reason to believe, that their number would have been above five thousand at the fewest, the day of their defeat, the certain number of the slain, I suppose was never perfectly known, tho' some have computed them to be about four hundred, of which there were but about fifteen killed on the field where they stood; for they fled so soon, that they were generally killed in the flight. The soldiers brought in very few prisoners, but

but cut off all (almost) that they overtook, only Mr. *John Kid*, was taken, after that he was pursued about three miles, I have no account of any other person of distinction, that was either killed or taken prisoner, for they were generally, if not all common people, who were killed and taken.

That worthy religious gentleman, *William Gordon* older of *Earlston*, was killed by the way, coming to the army, near *Glassford* about five miles from *Bothwell Bridge*, by some of the *English* dragoons, either the night before or that morning. There was twelve hundred who surrendred themselves prisoners of war; and these were disarmed, striped naked almost to the skin, and commanded to lye down flat upon the ground, in the muir, with strick orders not to stir out of that posture; and a strong guard set upon them. One of them for turning himself to a more easy posture, and setting up his head a little, was for that, instantly shot dead. After they were for sometime kept in that condition, they were tied two and two together, and driven like sheep by their enemies to *Edinburgh*; where they were kept a long time prisoners in *Gray-Friers-Church-Yard*; where, by the unhappy and sinful counsels and persuasions, of some indulged *Erastian* ministers there, particularly Mr. *Edward Jamison*; and Mr. *George Johnston* (who pressed them to redeem their lives, by the loss of their integrity,) many of them took that sinful insnaring bond, called

called the bond of peace, which condemned their appearance in arms at *Bothwell Bridge* for rebellion; and bound them up from lifting of arms against the bloody tyrant *Charles Stuart* in time coming. At last many of them who refused, and some of them that took that sinful bond, were sentenced with banishment; and sent to *America*. But by the way, the greatest part of them perished in shipwreck.

Thus I have given as true and impartial an account of this rising, appearance, and defeat, as possibly I could do, from twelve several accounts in my hands, which I judge to be as true, as any in the nation. And I am firmly persuaded, that no party in *Scotland*, be who they will; no never so many in number, never so great in power, station and wisdom; never so religious in profession and practice, that shall profess to appear in defence, or for relief of the covenanted work of reformation in *Scotland*, shall ever be blessed of the Lord, with success and victory, if they have the malignant interest in the state of their quarrel: for since we are sworn in the Solemn League and Covenant, to bring malignants to condign punishment; owning of the malignant interest, brings *Scotsmen* under the guilt of national perjury; no *Scotsman* can rationally expect, to be blessed of the Lord, with success and victory, when they have this accursed thing, the malignant interest hid among their own stuff.

V. The fifth thing is, to give an account of
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the causes of the Lord's anger against that army, which provoked him to make them fall and fly shamefully before their enemies: and they are these following:

1st, After the victory over bloody *Graham* of *Claverhouse* at *Drumclog*, (instead of pursuing the enemy) some ran too hastily and greedily upon the enemies spoil; which diverted and hindred them that did so, from doing any further execution upon the enemy: and giving some of these enemies of God, his cause and people, whom he had appointed to utter destruction, quarters, and letting them go free; which made them liable to that curse, Jer. 48. 10. *Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully: and cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.* And provoked the Lord to make the lives of many go, for unjust sparing of their lives, 1 Kings 20. 42.

2dly, The admitting of *Thomas Weir*, of *Greenridge* into the army and council of war, who was guilty of shedding the blood of the Lord's people, at *Pentland hills*; and that after he refused to give evidence of his repentance, for the same: and therefore, as it was just with the Lord, to make the children of Israel to fall and flee before their enemies, for the sin of an unknown *Achan* in their camp; it was much more just in him, to make this army to fall and flee before their enemies, for the sin of this known *Achan*, whom they had in their camp: see the seventh chapter of *Joshua*.

3dly,

3^{dly}, The admitting the Erastian party, and scandalous persons, who were disaffected to the cause of God, and to the army and council of war; when the army had power to keep them out, which was directly contrary to Deut. 23. 9: *When the host goeth forth against thine enemies, then keep thee from every wicked thing*, and to other scriptures which condemns sinful confederacy with such as are guilty of the publick abominations of any evil and sinning times, as, *Isa. 8. 12. Ezra 9. 14.*

4^{thly}, The pleading for, and defending of the indulgence (by the Erastian party) which was an approbation of the tyrants sacrelegious supremacy, whereby Jesus Christ was robbed and spoiled of his crown rights, and royal prerogatives, as he is King and Head of his Church, contrary to *Psal. 2. 6. Isa. 9. 6, 7. Luke 23. 23. John 18. 33, 36, 37. Eph. 1. 22.*

5^{thly}, The Erastian party, their taking in the malignant interest in the state of their quarrel, in *Hamilton declaration*, (and publishing the same as the declaration of the whole army) which was a helping of the ungodly, and loving of them that hated the Lord; for which it was just with the Lord to bring wrath upon the whole army, *2 Chron. 19. 2.* Since it was not faithfully opposed, and the owners of it timeously rejected.

6^{thly}, The violent opposition that was made by the Erastian party, (to the hindering of the same) to that necessary (and by the faithful in

the army) much desired duty, of keeping a day of fasting and humiliation, to confess and mourn for, their own, and the lands publick sins and defections, with a design to hide and conceal the grievous sin of the indulgence: for which the Lord did justly make out that threatening upon the whole army: that such as covers their sins shall not prosper, *Pro. 28. 13.*

7thly, The capitulating with the Duke of *Monmouth*: by a loyal supplication, which was carried on by force and fraud, by the Erastian party: which was a coming in terms of agreement with, and seeking the favour of the stated standing enemies of Jesus Christ, with whom the people of God should have war from generation to generation, *Exod. 17. 16.* And was directly contrary to these scriptures, *Exod. 23. 32. Exod. 34. 12, 13. Deut. 7. 2. Judges 2. 2.* And a trusting in the shadow of those heaven-daring enemies, who had trampled all the precious interests of Jesus Christ under their feet; and shed the blood of his saints like water. Therefore it was just with the Lord, to withdraw his favourable assistance, and protection from that army, when they sought the favour of his open avowed enemies.

8thly, That the general, and the rest of the officers of the honest party, did not (after sufficient discoveries of the Erastian party; their being against the right state of the Lord's cause) call all who were on the Lord's side together *Exod. 32. 26.* and separate from that corrupt party,

party, who still fought, and at last brought on their overthrow. Faithful *Rathillet* was fully convinced that this was their sin, as is clear from his letter to *Shargartoun*, where he says, “ I think they, viz. The honest party) may be sorrowful while they live, that ever they should have joined with such, as dealt so unfaithfully as they had done. — They can never be excused in this. And adds, O let all wonder and admire the long suffering patience of God, that made not the earth to swallow up that army, that for all this (viz. Opposing the fasting day) did not separate from such men.” And Mr. *Hamilton* in a letter from *Holland* to the suffering remnant of the church of *Scotland* dated *December 7th, 1685*. When speaking of his being treacherously betrayed, and insnared to give his consent to the publication of *Hamilton declaration*, and to subscribe the supplication to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he says, “ I would have coveted the greatest of torture to have but once had, the occasion of an open and free testimony, against these two particulars, and an Assembly of my old companions, the Lord’s people in that land, to have acknowledged my sin, shame, sorrow and grief unto them. And I think it my glory to acknowledge it unto you: and to give you what satisfaction ye or the church of *Scotland* ever judged requisite, according to the degree of my offence.” From these two instances it is evident.

dent, how grieved these godly men were, for their associating *etc.* with that corrupt Erastian party. And many who were most sound, stedfast, and faithful in owning of the Lord's cause, were so convinced of the sinfulness of *Hamilton declaration*, that they sealed a testimony with their blood against the same. I wish the shameful fall of that army, for their sin of owning the malignant interest of Christ's avowed enemies, and seeking their favour, *etc.* may be a warning to the world's end, to all the true owners of the covenanted work of reformation in this nation, that none of them ever again, split on this dangerous rock, of owning the malignant interest of such as we are sworn against in our solemn covenants, or joining in sinful association with such as are, or shall be owners of the same, lest their sin be written in their judgment, as visibly as theirs at *Bothwel Bridge* was.

Broomerside,
 July 12,
 1751.

WILLIAM WILSON.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER the defeat at *Bothwel Bridge*, the Erastian party did what they could by, horrid lies *etc.* to make Mr. *Hamilton* odious and hateful to the world, especially to such as had any of their friends or relations killed or taken prisoners

ers there; by giving out, that he had sold the army for money to the enemy, *etc.* And their lying reproaches were so impressed upon people's minds, and so industriously handed down from father to son among the enemies of truth; that to this very day his name and memory is suffering, by almost every body that speaks of that defeat.

I have told the reader already, how he was betrayed, and insnared by the Erastian party, in the matters of *Hamilton declaration* and the supplication sent to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and of his continuing too long with the Erastian party; which were all to him causes of grief and sorrow: but as for any other thing that he was accused off; it had no better foundation, than the malice of the Erastian party, who hated him; because their own ways were wicked, and his righteous. For under all his reproaches, he had this advantage of his enemies; that when the Lord suffered them to go from evil to worse in defection; he honoured him with the grace of stability to own his cause faithfully to the end. I could say much in commendation, and for the vindication of this worthy religious gentleman, which I must refer to another occasion; and at this time only acquaint the reader with these few particulars concerning him.

1st, He had the honour to be employed as the commissioner of the persecuted, true presbyterians of the church of Christ in *Scotland*, to represent their case to, and crave the sympathy of foreign churches, and it was by his skill

skill and faithfulness in prosecuting this commission, that he prevailed with the presbytery of *Groningen* to ordain the famous and faithful Mr. *James Renwick*, a minister of the-gospel for the persecuted true presbyterian church of Christ in *Scotland*, and with the presbytery of *Emden* to ordain Mr. *Thomas Linen* a minister of the gospel, for the same church.

2dly, About the time of the revolution his brother Sir *William Hamilton* of *Preston* died, and he then fell heir to his brother's honours and estate; but although after that he was ever designed, by the name of Sir *Robert Hamilton*, yet because he could not enter into, possess and enjoy that estate, unless he had owned the unjust tittle of the prince and princess of *Orange*, as king and queen of these three covenanted nations; and in consequence thereof, owned the prelatick government, as then unhappily established, upon the ruins of the work of God in these nations, he never entered into, nor intromitted with his brother's estate any manner of way: but with *Moses* he made that noble choice, to suffer affliction with the people of God, rather than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and did esteem a stedfast adherence to the cause of Christ (and all the reproaches that followed thereupon) greater riches than all his brother's estate, *Heb. 11. 25, 26*. For out of true love to Jesus Christ, his covenanted cause, interest and people, he laid his worldly honour in the dust; and continued a companion in the faith, patience, afflictions and tribulations, of the poor mean despised ones in this Land, who still owned the true state of the Lord's covenanted cause.

3dly, After his return from *Holland*, when Mr. *Thomas Linen*, Mr. *Alexander Shields*, Mr. *William Boyd*, were drawing and driving, all who had been formerly faithful, in owning of, and suffering for the Lord's covenanted cause, into a sinful confederacy, and full conformity with all the defections of the time, in a general meeting at *Douglas*, *Novem. 6th, 1689*.

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He gave a faithful protestation against the sinful courses they were then carrying on, particularly, their owning of the prince and princess of *Orange*, as king and queen of these covenanted nations; because they were sworn to prelacy, in opposition to our covenanted work of reformation; against raising of the *Angus* regiment, which was a sinful and scandalous association with malignants; and against joyning with the *Erastian* ministers, which they had formerly, justly withdrawn from, without any signs or evidences of repentance in them, for the many defections that they were guilty off.

4^{thly}, After these three notable backsliders, Mr. *Thomas Linen*, Mr. *Alexander Shields*, and Mr. *William Boyd*, had treacherously betrayed the Lord's cause, and drawn the most part of the former owners thereof into the same excess of defection with themselves, to own all the defections of the time, he was the chief instrument in the Lord's hand, of gathering together out of their dispersions, such of the old sufferers, as had escaped that deluge of defection, that the rest were fallen into; and bringing them again into an unite party, and general Correspondence, upon the former honest state of the testimony.

5^{thly}, He had a chief hand in that faithful declaration, which was published at *Sanquhair*, Aug. 10th, 1692; for which he was apprehended, by some of the old persecuting soldiers, at *Earlston*, Sept. 10th, 1692; and carried by them to *Edinburgh*; and there, and elsewhere, he was kept prisoner, till the 4th of *May*, 1693. When he was brought before the pretended council at *Edinburgh*, to be examined concerning that declaration, he declined them, and all upon whom they depended; because they were not qualified, according to the word of God, and our Solemn Covenants. All the time of his imprisonment, he continued faithful and stedfast in the Lord's cause, and was set at Liberty, without any compliance whatsoever.

6^{thly}, From his liberation to the day of his death,

he continued faithful in contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, *Jude* ver. 3. And did greatly strengthen and encourage the rest of the suffering Remnant, with whom he continued in christian communion, both by his pious and godly example, and reasonable counsel and advice, in what concerned the salvation of their souls, and the right carrying on of the testimony, for the cause they were owning.

Some years before his death, he was taken ill with the stone, of which he endured a very sore and sharp affliction, with a great deal of christian patience, and holy submission to the will of God. He died at *Warrington*, *Octob.* 21st, 1701; being then 51 years of age. And left a faithful testimony behind him, to the Lord's noble and honourable cause, which he had long owned and suffered for; wherein, he blesteth God, that it was many years since his interest was secured in him; and tho' I never had the honour of personal acquaintance with him; yet, from the sweet and favourable accounts, that I have had from such as were personally acquainted with him; and, from what I have in my hands, in write concerning him; I believe, he was a gentleman, who (for soundness in the faith, true piety, the real exercise of godliness, a gospel conversation, the true understanding of the right state of the Lord's cause, in every part thereof, accompanied with true love and affection to, and zeal according to knowledge, for the same, continued in with steadfastness and stability to the end of his time) was preferable to all of his station, in this nation, in his own time, since he appeared publicly for the Lord's cause. And therefore, he was a great honour to the name of *Hamilton*, and an honour to his nation.

I wish, that what I have said concerning him, may be a mean to stop the mouth of reproachers, who hitherto have endeavoured to make his name and memory infamous. And in this I am their friend,

WILLIAM WILSON.
THE END.